

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D. C. 20505

28 March 1986

Dear Pat,

Here's my first cut of my 15-minute talk to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on 9 April. I would appreciate it if you could ask Mr. Parvin to give me some ideas on it after my return here next Tuesday. I will also appreciate any suggestions you may have.

Yours,

William J. Casey

Enclosures:

2 copies of speech

The Honorable Patrick J. Buchanan
Assistant to the President and
Director of Communications
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

28 March 1986

Dear John,

Here's my first cut of the talk I intend to give to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on 9 April. I will appreciate any thoughts or suggestions you may have.

Yours,

William J. Casey

Enclosure:
Speech

Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter, USN
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

DCI
27 MARCH 86, 1600

AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS
9 APRIL 1986

I WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO TALK TO YOU TODAY ABOUT AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE FOR WHICH I AM RESPONSIBLE AND THE PRESS WHICH HAS SO MANY DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVES HERE.

IN THINKING ABOUT MY OPENING REMARKS FOR TONIGHT, I WAS STRUCK BY THE REALIZATION THAT JOURNALISTS AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS HAVE MUCH IN COMMON. BOTH WORK AT THE COLLECTION AND PROPER PRESENTATION OF ACCURATE INFORMATION THAT LEADS TO INFORMED JUDGMENTS. OUR OFFICERS OVERSEAS, LIKE YOUR CORRESPONDENTS, WORK DAY AND NIGHT TO OBTAIN VITAL INFORMATION. LIKE MANY SKILLED JOURNALISTS, CIA ANALYSTS SPEND HOURS PORING OVER REPORTS FROM MANY DIFFERENT SOURCES IN ORDER TO PRESENT FACTS IN THE CONTEXT OF BROADER EVENTS AND ISSUES.

AS DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, MY PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY IS TO PROVIDE THE MOST ACCURATE, TIMELY ANALYSIS OF FOREIGN DEVELOPMENTS TO OUR NATIONAL LEADERS. UNDER OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM, I CARRY OUT MY RESPONSIBILITIES AS DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE UNDER THE CLOSE SCRUTINY OF THE PRESS -- CERTAINLY A UNIQUE POSITION AMONG THE INTELLIGENCE CHIEFS OF THE WORLD. BUT WHILE INTELLIGENCE SHOULD NOT BE DIVORCED FROM PUBLIC OPINION, NEITHER SHOULD IT BE OVERLY CONCERNED WITH THE DAILY SHIFTS, THE UPS AND DOWNS, OF PUBLIC CRITICISM OR PRAISE.

THIS IS MORE PROPERLY THE CONCERN OF THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES. ELECTED OFFICIALS, WHETHER IN THE WHITE HOUSE OR IN CONGRESS, MUST STAY CLOSELY ATTUNED TO THE PUBLIC'S WISHES. WE IN INTELLIGENCE MUST BE RESPONSIVE TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS. WE RECEIVE THE PUBLIC'S DIRECTION THROUGH THEM. THAT IS WHY WE WELCOME CONGRESSIONAL AND PRESIDENTIAL OVERSIGHT. THAT OUR ACTIONS ARE REVIEWED AND APPROVED BY THE PUBLIC'S REPRESENTATIVES GIVES THEM A LEGITIMACY THEY WOULD NOT OTHERWISE HAVE IN OUR OPEN SOCIETY.

THE PRESS IS ANOTHER MEANS OF ENSURING CHECKS AND BALANCES, IF REPORTING IS ACCURATE AND FAIR. BUT I WOULD ASK YOU TO KEEP IN MIND THAT EXPOSURE IN THE PRESS OF WHAT WE KNOW AND HOW WE KNOW OF ALLEGED INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS -- CORRECT OR INCORRECT -- CREATES VERY REAL PROBLEMS FOR US.

I AM REQUIRED BY LAW TO PROTECT INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS. THIS IS A SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY AND ONE I DO NOT TAKE LIGHTLY. JOURNALISTS TAKE SERIOUSLY THEIR RIGHT TO MAINTAIN THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THEIR SOURCES -- AND HAVE GONE TO JAIL RATHER THAN EXPOSE THEM.

OUR COUNTRY, THROUGH ITS INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, HAS INVESTED TIME, EFFORT, AND TALENT OVER MANY YEARS AND SPENT MANY BILLIONS OF DOLLARS TO DEVELOP INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS NEEDED TO ASSESS MISSILES AND OTHER WEAPONS AIMED AT US, DEVELOP EFFECTIVE

DEFENSES AND COUNTERMEASURES, PROTECT OUR CITIZENS AND INSTALLATIONS AROUND THE WORLD FROM TERRORIST ATTACKS, INTELLIGENTLY SPEND A \$300 BILLION DEFENSE BUDGET, AND GUIDE OUR DIPLOMACY. THESE SOURCES AND METHODS ARE CRITICAL TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY, OUR HOPES OF EFFECTIVE ARMS CONTROL AND THE SAFETY OF AND LIBERTY OF OUR CITIZENS.

FOR THIS REASON, WE CLASSIFY AND RESTRICT THE CIRCULATION OF INFORMATION ABOUT HOW AND WHERE WE COLLECT INFORMATION AND OF INTELLIGENCE REPORTS AND ASSESSMENTS AS WELL, IF THEY CAN REVEAL OR OTHERWISE COMPROMISE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS. THE KGB AND OTHER HOSTILE INTELLIGENCE SERVICES SPEND BILLIONS OF DOLLARS EVERY YEAR TO ACQUIRE THIS INFORMATION. YET THE UNAUTHORIZED PUBLICATION OF INFORMATION SO CLASSIFIED HANDS TO OUR ADVERSARIES ON A SILVER PLATTER MORE SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE THAN THEIR SPIES, THEIR PHILOSOPHERS, AND SIGNALS SATELLITES EVER GATHER.

IN RECENT YEARS, PUBLICATION OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION BY THE MEDIA HAS DESTROYED OR SERIOUSLY DAMAGED INTELLIGENCE SOURCES OF THE HIGHEST VALUE.

WHEN A JOURNALIST -- WHO WOULD READILY GO TO JAIL TO PROTECT HIS OWN SOURCE -- THINKS TRYING TO FERRET OUT INTELLIGENCE SECRETS AND TO PRINT THEM IS A CHALLENGE OR A GAME, WHO PAYS FOR ESTABLISHING A COLLECTION SYSTEM TO REPLACE ONE WHICH IS COMPROMISED OR FOR THE OFFICER WHO HAS TO RECRUIT NEW SOURCES OF INFORMATION?

YOU, ME, AND EVERY OTHER TAXPAYER IN THE U.S. WE MAY NOT ALL RECEIVE DIRECT INTELLIGENCE, BUT WE ALL BENEFIT FROM IT WHEN IT IS GOOD AND WE ALL PAY FOR IT WHEN IT IS COMPROMISED.

WE FULLY RECOGNIZE AND ADMIRE YOUR COMMITMENT TO FULLY INFORM THE PUBLIC AND THE DEDICATION AND INGENUITY WITH WHICH YOU MEET THAT COMMITMENT AND WOULD NOT DISCOURAGE IT IN ANY WAY.

YET, AS MRS. KATHARINE GRAHAM STATED RECENTLY IN LONDON IN A SPLENDID SPEECH ON TERRORISM AND THE MEDIA:

"...[THE MEDIA] WANT TO DO NOTHING THAT WOULD ENDANGER HUMAN LIFE OR NATIONAL SECURITY. WE ARE WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH THE AUTHORITIES IN WITHHOLDING INFORMATION THAT COULD HAVE THOSE CONSEQUENCES...."

SHE AMPLIFIED THIS BY SAYING:

"...WHEN THE MEDIA OBTAINS ESPECIALLY SENSITIVE INFORMATION, WE ARE WILLING TO TELL THE AUTHORITIES WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED AND WHAT WE PLAN TO REPORT. AND WHILE RESERVING THE RIGHT TO MAKE THE FINAL DECISION OURSELVES, WE ARE ANXIOUS TO LISTEN TO ARGUMENTS ABOUT WHY INFORMATION SHOULD NOT BE AIRED...."

I HAVE WITNESSED ADMIRABLE RESTRAINT AND JUDGMENT BY JOURNALISTS. I HAVE BEEN GRATIFIED BY THE READINESS OF JOURNALISTS TO CAREFULLY CONSIDER WITHHOLDING PUBLICATION OF INFORMATION WHICH COULD JEOPARDIZE NATIONAL INTERESTS AND BY TREATING A STORY IN A MANNER WHICH MEETS THE PUBLIC NEED AS THEY PERCEIVE IT, YET MINIMIZES POTENTIAL DAMAGE TO INTELLIGENCE SOURCES. THE TRICK IS TO RECOGNIZE THE POTENTIAL FOR DAMAGE AND TO CONSULT ON HOW IT MIGHT BE MINIMIZED. WE ARE ANXIOUS TO HELP IN THIS.

I HAVE SEEN A GROWING UNDERSTANDING BY THE PRESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY, TIMELINESS, AND RELIABILITY OF THE ANALYSIS WE PROVIDE TO OUR NATIONAL LEADERS. UNFORTUNATELY, INACCURATE STORIES STILL APPEAR, SOME OF WHICH DAMAGE OUR CREDIBILITY AND ABILITY TO FUNCTION AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF PERFORMANCE.

I HASTEN TO ADD, HOWEVER, THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF PREVENTING THESE TYPES OF LEAKS LIES NOT WITH PLACING RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS, BUT WITH INCREASING DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT. DURING THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, THE PRESIDENT HAS EMPHASIZED THE SPECIAL OBLIGATION FEDERAL WORKERS HAVE TO PROTECT THE CLASSIFIED INFORMATION WITH WHICH THEY ARE ENTRUSTED. WE HAVE INCREASED OUR EFFORTS TO UNCOVER THOSE WHO VIOLATE THIS SPECIAL TRUST BY DISCLOSING SENSITIVE INFORMATION TO THOSE NOT AUTHORIZED TO RECEIVE IT. WE ARE STUDYING WHETHER

NEW LAWS ARE NEEDED TO DEAL WITH FEDERAL EMPLOYEES WHO DECIDE ON THEIR OWN TO DISCLOSE CLASSIFIED INFORMATION WITHOUT REGARD TO THE LIVES THAT ARE JEOPARDIZED OR THE COLLECTION SYSTEMS THAT ARE COMPROMISED.

DESPITE THE SIMILARITY IN OUR GOALS AND THE WAYS WE WORK, JOURNALISTS COLLECT THEIR INFORMATION TO PASS ON TO AS BROAD AN AUDIENCE AS POSSIBLE AND INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS TRY TO LIMIT DISTRIBUTION OF THEIR INFORMATION UNLESS IT HAS BEEN SANITIZED TO THE POINT WHERE THE SOURCE CANNOT POSSIBLY BE IDENTIFIED.

AS A RESULT, CIA PRESENTS AN EASY TARGET FOR SOME WHO LOOK FOR A QUICK AND JUICY HEADLINE BECAUSE WE RARELY ARE ABLE TO ANSWER BACK. YOU WANT US TO "TELL OUR SIDE OF THE STORY" AND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS WHEN OUR SIDE CAN NEVER BE COMPLETELY TOLD. BECAUSE WE NEED TO PROTECT SO MANY PEOPLE AND SO MUCH TECHNOLOGY, IN MOST CASES WE HAVE OPTED TO MAINTAIN OUR SILENCE -- EVEN IF IT MAKES US LOOK STUPID OR DASTARDLY. WE TAKE SOME SMALL COMFORT IN KNOWING THAT THE PEOPLE WHO USE OUR PRODUCT AND WHO OVERSEE OUR WORK BELIEVE WE ARE DOING A TERRIFIC JOB.

IN STRIVING TO PROTECT LEGITIMATE SECRETS FROM DISCLOSURE, WE ALSO ARE CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED TO KEEP OUR CITIZENS INFORMED ABOUT THE CRITICAL ISSUES WE FACE IN THE WORLD TODAY. WE ARE PREPARED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH POLICYMAKERS IN BOTH THE EXECUTIVE

AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES NOT ONLY TO PROVIDE INFORMATION, INCLUDING TO THE PUBLIC WHEN APPROPRIATE, BUT ALSO TO RESPOND TO APPROPRIATE INQUIRIES ABOUT OUR CONDUCT OF THE INTELLIGENCE BUSINESS.

WHEN OUR INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS REACH THE MEDIA, WHETHER AUTHORIZED OR NOT, WE ARE FREQUENTLY ASKED TO PRODUCE THE EVIDENCE WHICH SUPPORTS OUR JUDGMENTS. SOMETIMES WE CAN; MUCH MORE OFTEN WE CANNOT WITHOUT JEOPARDIZING OUR SOURCES OR TEACHING OUR ADVERSARIES HOW TO DENY US NEEDED INFORMATION IN THE FUTURE. WE HAVE LEARNED THAT LESSON THE HARD WAY. BACK IN 1982, WE RESPONDED TO THE CALL TO "PROVE" THE JUDGMENT OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY THAT WEAPONS AND GUIDANCE TO VIOLENTLY OVERTHROW THE SALVADORAN GOVERNMENT WERE BEING SENT OVER THE BORDER FROM NICARAGUA. ADMIRAL INMAN, MY DEPUTY AT THE TIME, PRESENTED SUPPORTING DETAILS, WITH PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS, TO THE NATIONAL MEDIA GATHERED IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT OPERATIONS CENTER.

WHAT HAPPENED? A GREAT MANY JOURNALISTS, EDITORS AND LEGISLATORS REMAINED SKEPTICAL, AND IN SHORT ORDER THE NICARAGUANS GLEANED ENOUGH FROM THE DETAIL PRESENTED TO THEM BY ADMIRAL INMAN TO CUT US OFF FROM MUCH OF THE INFORMATION WHICH HAD SUPPORTED OUR JUDGMENT. NOW, ALMOST FOUR YEARS LATER, VIRTUALLY EVERYBODY RECOGNIZES THAT THE ESSENTIAL SUPPORT FOR THE CONTINUED INSURGENCY IN EL SALVADOR HAS COME FROM NICARAGUA.

SINCE WE SO FREQUENTLY CAN'T REVEAL OUR EVIDENCE OR DISCLOSE OUR SOURCES, WHAT RELIANCE CAN BE PLACED ON OUR INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS? OUR PRIMARY CREDIBILITY COMES FROM THE DEDICATION AND INTEGRITY OF THE PEOPLE AND THE PROCESS BY WHICH THEY ARE PRODUCED. THEY ARE THE WORK OF CAREER PROFESSIONALS BASED ON INFORMATION PRODUCED BY A WIDE VARIETY OF SOURCES AND THE MOST SOPHISTICATED AND ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY WHICH EXISTS IN THE WORLD -- PHOTOGRAPHY, SPACE SATELLITES, ELECTRONICS, ACOUSTICS, COMMUNICATIONS COLLECTORS, SEISMIC SENSORS AND OTHER SENSORS -- TO COLLECT RELIABLE INFORMATION.

OUR NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATES ARE APPROVED AND FINALIZED AT MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE BOARD COMPOSED OF THE CHIEFS OF THE DIA, CIA, NSA, ARMY, NAVY, MARINES, AND AIR FORCE INTELLIGENCE ARMS AND OTHER COMPONENTS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY. THESE MEN ARE CHARGED WITH SEEING THAT THE RELEVANT INFORMATION AND JUDGMENTS HELD BY THEIR ORGANIZATIONS ARE REFLECTED. AS ITS CHAIRMAN, I MAKE IT MY BUSINESS TO SEE THAT ANY SUBSTANTIATED DISSENTING OR ALTERNATIVE VIEW IS REFLECTED SO THAT POLICYMAKERS HAVE THE BENEFIT OF THE FULL RANGE OF OPINION IN THE ENTIRE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

AT THE SAME TIME, NOT ALL THE INFORMATION WE COLLECT AND USE IS CLASSIFIED NOR IS IT DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO A SPECIFIC SOURCE. AS MANY OF YOU KNOW, YOUR REPORTERS CAN CALL CIA FOR OCCASIONAL GUIDANCE AND FOR BACKGROUND BRIEFINGS. AGAIN THE

DETERMINING FACTOR IS WHETHER WE CAN TALK WITHOUT ENDANGERING OUR SOURCES AND METHODS OR WITHOUT BECOMING INVOLVED IN MATTERS THAT SHOULD BE ADDRESSED BY U.S. POLICYMAKERS.

IN A WORLD WHERE BETWEEN 1975 AND 1979 WITH A GUIDING HAND THE SOVIET BLOC WAS CAREFULLY CONCEALED AS COMMUNIST DICTATORS WERE IMPOSED IN VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, LAOS, MOZAMBIQUE, ETHIOPIA, YEMEN, NICARAGUA, AND WHERE CURRENTLY SOVEREIGN STATES USE TERRORISM AS AN INSTRUMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY, IT IS INCREASINGLY ESSENTIAL THAT THE PUBLIC LEARN WHAT IT IS THEIR GOVERNMENT IS FACING.

WE HAVE MADE EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS IN RECENT YEARS FROM BOTH THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES TO SANITIZE OR DECLASSIFY INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION AND ASSESSMENTS AND MAKE THEM AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC.

THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY HAS CONTRIBUTED INFORMATION TO THE PUBLIC DEBATE ON IMPORTANT ISSUES OF NATIONAL SECURITY. PERHAPS THE BEST EXAMPLE OF THIS, AND THE MOST WIDELY DISSEMINATED, HAS BEEN DIA'S ANNUAL PUBLICATION, SOVIET MILITARY POWER, WHICH IS CLOSELY COORDINATED BY CIA. LAST SUMMER THE COMMUNITY AT THE REQUEST OF THE WHITE HOUSE AND CONGRESS PRESENTED IN OPEN TESTIMONY AN UNCLASSIFIED DISCUSSION OF SOVIET STRATEGIC FORCES.

MORE FREQUENTLY, HOWEVER, CIA MATERIAL IS DECLASSIFIED FOR USE IN OTHER GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS, SUCH AS STATE'S WHITE PAPERS ON TERRORISM AND TWO PUBLICATIONS DISTRIBUTED BY THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS ON SOVIET ACQUISITION OF WESTERN TECHNOLOGY. WE DO NOT SEEK TO TAKE THE LEAD IN THE PUBLIC DISSEMINATION OF INTELLIGENCE LEST IT SEND THE WRONG SIGNALS TO OUR FRIENDS AND SOURCES OVERSEAS.

THIS ORDERLY AND CAUTIOUS APPROACH TO THE PUBLIC USE OF INTELLIGENCE IS GUIDED BY THE HIGHEST GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES AND INVOLVES THE CLOSE PARTICIPATION OF INTELLIGENCE PROFESSIONALS. IT IS A FAR CRY FROM THE RISKY AND DANGEROUS UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURES OR LEAKS BY INDIVIDUALS, WHATEVER THEIR MOTIVE. JUST AS YOU AND YOUR REPORTERS REFUSE TO JEOPARDIZE YOUR SOURCES, WE CANNOT LET YOU OR ANYONE ELSE BE THE JUDGE OF WHETHER OR NOT OUR SOURCES SHOULD BE SECRET OR WHETHER OR NOT THEIR INFORMATION IS SENSITIVE. WHEN WE PROMISE OUR SOURCES CONFIDENTIALITY, WE IN MANY CASES LITERALLY HOLD THEIR LIVES IN OUR HANDS.

WE ARE EAGER TO DEVELOP BETTER UNDERSTANDING AND CLOSER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE WORKING PRESS, WHO PERFORM SUCH A VITAL FUNCTION IN OUR SOCIETY, AND THE CIA AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY, WHICH ALSO HAVE VITAL ROLES TO PLAY IN PROTECTING THIS NATION. AMERICA NEEDS A FREE, VIGOROUS PRESS AND IT NEEDS A SUPERIOR INTELLIGENCE SERVICE. WE ARE BOTH SERVING OUR COUNTRY. I TRULY BELIEVE THAT AND HOPE YOU BELIEVE IT, TOO.